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Ph. Dakoronia – S. Deger-Jalkotzy –S. Fabrizii-Reuer

Elateia and the Mycenaean Heritage

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ΔΩΡΟΝ

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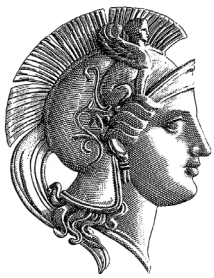

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ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ
Αναγνωστοπούλου 14
106 73 Αθήνα
Τηλ. 210-3664612 – FAX 210-3602448

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ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

ELATEIA AND THE MYCENAEAN HERITAGE

The modern village of Elateia is situated in the upper valley of the Boeotian river Kephissos. In antiquity this area belonged to the region of Phocis. Today it is part of the modern district of Phthiotis.

The archaeological site of Ancient Elateia is situated north of the modern village, at the foothills of the Kallidromos mountains. In its vicinity, on a slope called Alonaki, a Mycenaean chamber tomb cemetery was discovered in 1985. In the following two years 22 tombs were excavated by the 14th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (Lamia). Thereafter the cemetery was systematically investigated from 1988 until 1992 by a joint Greek-Austrian excavation project under the direction of Phanouria Dakoronia and Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy. Moreover, an anthropological project was carried out by Egon Reuer and Susanne Fabrizii-Reuer (Vienna). In 1992 the number of excavated tombs had risen to eighty-four chamber tombs and several Roman pit graves.

Chamber tombs were used at Elateia from the early 14th to the later 9th centurie B.C.[1] Doubtless the evidence of the cemetery at Elateia-Alonaki will make an important contribution to the longstanding discussion of continuity and discontinuity between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age of Greece. In the following an example will be presented which gives insight into how the inhabitants of Elateia in the Early Iron Age dealt with their Mycenaean heritage. The three authors would like to dedicate this article to Professor Iakovidis, eminent scholar and doyen of Mycenaean archaeology.

TOMB **L/89**

1. EXCAVATION AND FINDS

In 1989 a small tomb (T. XLVIII/89) was excavated (fig. 1: plan).[2] It clearly adheres to the idea of a chamber tomb, albeit not of the canonical Mycenaean shape. The layout consisted of a very short dromos and a small hollow which barely deserves the name of chamber. Instead of a proper stomion there was an edge backing the slab which closed the open-

1. Moreover, several Mycenaean tombs were reused in Hellenistic and Roman times. Since the history of Elateia during those periods is not the subject of this article, we refer to G. Zachos, *Ελάτεια. Ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή περίοδος* (Ph.D. thesis, Kerkyra 1997).

2. Tombs XLVIII and L were excavated in 1989 under the direction of S. Deger-Jalkotzy and E. Alram-Stern. Anthropological research: E. Reuer, S. Fabrizii-Reuer.

ing. Our suspicion that we were dealing with a post-Mycenaean tomb was soon corroborated by the contents: A single burial of a woman was accompanied by a Sub-Protogeometric oinochoe of the 9th century B.C. The same chronology can be assigned to the other burial gifts, namely a simple cast bronze ring with circular section, and two iron pins.[3]

When we could not establish the eastern confinements of the tomb it soon became clear that there was a large opening in the east wall which led into the chamber of a neighbouring tomb. This was tomb L/89, a true Mycenaean chamber tomb and the main subject of this article. The close juxtaposition of the two tombs, the parallel alignment of their dromoi and the careful shaping of the ledge protruding between them suggest that they were intended to represent a funerary ensemble (fig. 1). Under these premises the idea suggested itself that the large opening between the small tomb XLVIII and the chamber of tomb L, too, may have been made on purpose. It was created in the 9th century B.C., apparently with the purpose of joining a small tomb of that period with the older Mycenaean chamber tomb. However, after a closer investigation it appears more likely that this opening came into being accidentally rather than intentionally: The burial deposits of tomb L were covered by a layer of rubble which was very thick next to the opening, as well as in the western part of the tomb. Towards the centre and in the eastern part of the tomb this debris gradually became thinner, although it still covered all burials. Therefore it is more likely that the opening came into being by the collapse of the partition wall because the association of the two tombs had been too close.

Tomb L/89 belongs to the canonical shape of Mycenaean chamber tombs (fig. 1). Its orientation is north-south. The length of the dromos is 3.5 m, the width 1-1.4 m. The walls of the dromos slightly incline upwards. The fill contained an extraordinarily large number of pottery fragments (more than 600): Their chronology is LH IIIB (few) and LH IIIC. The majority, however, covers the transitional period from LH IIIC Late to Protogeometric. Moreover, there were a few Middle Geometric sherds, and a considerable number can be attributed to Hellenistic/Roman vessels.[4]

The entrance to the chamber is oval in shape and rather low. It was closed with stones of various size set into a thick packing of earth. This closure was different from that of other Mycenaean chamber tombs which normally were blocked by means of a dry stone masonry. Therefore it is obvious that tomb L was finally closed in post-Mycenaean times. Between the stones of the closure several potsherds and a piece of Roman glass were found.

After the stomion was opened in the course of the excavation, we encountered the following archaeological situation. The chamber was filled up to the top with a mixture of earth, potsherds, and rubble which had fallen down from the ceiling. The number of potsherds found in this fill again was unusually high (about 300). Their chronological range is analo-

3. Since this tomb is not the subject of the present article, no further details are given here.

4. For classification and chronology of 63 select potsherds from the dromos fill of tomb L see A. Baechle, *Fragmente bemalter mykenischer Keramik aus den Gräbern von Elateia-Alonaki* (M.A. thesis, Un. of Salzburg 1993) nos. 160-223. The fragments mainly are of LH IIIC date, a few are LH IIIB.

gous to that of the material found in the dromos.[5] Moreover, a considerable number of these fragments corresponded with others from the dromos fill. In fact, there are even joins. Thus it is clear that both fills contained parts of the same vessels. In view of the insufficient closure of the stomion one is inclined to assume that potsherds from the dromos fills had been washed into the chamber. However, it is difficult to sustain this explanation in view of the high numbers of sherds, and above all of the fragments of an Early/Middle Geometric oinochoe. Its largest fragments, namely neck, rim and handle (**L/8.1**, fig. 12; see below 2.A.1) came from the chamber fill, while smaller sherds from body and base were found in the upper, as well as in the lower layers of the dromos fill. It is difficult to imagine that the neck of a comparatively large vessel was washed through the stone and earth closure of the stomion. More probably the vase already had been broken earlier, and its parts were thrown both into the dromos and the chamber (see further below, pp. 224-225 n. 36, 37).

After the chamber fill had been removed, the thick layer of rubble mentioned earlier appeared. As has been suggested above, this debris probably was the result of the collapse of the partition wall between tombs L and XLVIII. The debris contained no finds. Under it the burial layers of the tomb were found.

The shape of the chamber is almost rectangular, the walls are slightly curved. Four pits were dug into its floor (figs 1 and 3). Containing the skeletal remains of at least 28 individuals, these pits clearly had been designed for secondary burials. – The pit in the southwest corner was large. It was mainly filled with skeletal remains, but there also were two beads of rock-crystal, three spindle whorls and a small fragment of bronze sheet. – The second pit had been dug along the middle of the northern wall. It contained skeletal remains, one bone needle, several steatite beads and a steatite pendant, 6 fragments of glass beads, one sealstone[6], and the lekythos **L/19b** (fig. 11). The lekythos is LH IIIC Late or Submycenaean (see below p. 218 2.A.6). In addition, there was one sherd from a straight-sided Mycenaean vase (alabastron?). The small finds are LH IIIC, apart from the glass beads and the seal stone which were of earlier date. – In the north-eastern corner of the chamber and near the northern pit, the third pit was situated. Apart from the skeletal remains, it contained three potsherds (one of them from an unpainted kylix FS 267), the fragments of an arched fibula (**L/15b**, see below p. 219 2.B.4) and a ring of Submycenaean/Early Protogeometric type (**L/16b**, see below p. 220 2.B.6). – Finally, the fourth pit situated in the south-eastern corner contained the remains of 6 skeletons, the handmade jug **L/17c** (fig. 10; see below 2.A.5), three bronze rings (**L/17b$_1$**, **17b$_2$**, **L/17g**, see below 2.B.7-9), fragments of a violin-bow shaped fibula (**L/17f**, see below 2.B.5), and 14 steatite beads. While the fibula and the steatite beads represent types already known in LH IIIC,[7] the handmade jug and the rings are either Submycenaean or Early Protogeometric.

5. Two significant sherds of LH IIIB date have been published by Baechle *op. cit.* (n. 4) 211f.

6. Cf. *CMS* V Suppl. 2: Ph. Dakoronia - S. Deger-Jalkotzy, - A. Sakellariou, *Die Siegel aus der Nekropole von Elatia-Alonaki* (Berlin 1996) n. 73.

7. On steatite necklaces and pendants found in the tombs of Elateia see S. Dimaki, Νεκροταφείο Ελάτειας. Περιδέραια από στεατίτη, in *Η περιφέρεια του Μυκηναϊκού κόσμου. Α΄ Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο, Λαμία 1994* (Lamia 1999) 215-22.

Although the pits had not been covered with stone slabs, the skeletal remains deposited in them were carefully separated from those found on the floor of the chamber. There were, however, two exceptions which will be treated below p. 224. As for chronology, the non-skeletal objects found in the pits of the chamber in tomb L cover the periods LH IIIC, Submycenaean and Early Protogeometric. However, a few potsherds, as well as several small finds (glass beads, seal-stone) should be dated to LH IIIB and IIIC. Under these premises tomb L appears to have been in use in LH IIIC, perhaps even earlier (see further below p. 223).

The findings on the floor of the chamber are illustrated in fig. 2. Along the west wall and on top of the south-western pit two compact layers of bones were piled up. They were the skeletal remains of 25 individuals. Associated with them were the Submycenaean amphoriskos **L/9c** (fig. 7; see below 2.A.3) and two steatite pendants probably of LH IIIC date.[8] In the north-eastern section of the chamber the skeletal remains of five individuals were situated along the east wall. While the lower layer of this accumulation had been deposited on the floor between the north-eastern pit and the south-eastern pit, its top layer partly covered the north-eastern pit, too. The non-skeletal objects found together with the bones consisted of the Middle Geometric skyphos **L/11c** (fig. 8; see below 2.A.4), the long Submycenaean dress-pin **L/11b** (fig. 9; see below 2.B.3), and a spindle whorl.

The situation in the centre of the chamber first was taken to represent two burials *in situ.* The skeletal remains lying to the west appeared to have been surrounded on three sides by a stone setting, and accompanied by the Mycenaean sword **L/13b** (fig. 5; see below 2.B.1) and a pair of tweezers **L/13d** (fig. 6; see below 2.B.2). The large amphora **L/9b** (fig. 4; see below 2.A.2), too, was found within the stone enclosure: It had tumbled down, and its rim had come to rest on a stone of the enclosure (fig. 2). When the vase was re-erected, it became clear that originally it had stood next to the sword and the tweezers.

As described below (2.A.2), the large amphora is of local Early Protogeometric style. In contrast, the tweezers and the sword are Mycenaean. The sword belongs to type Sandars G or Kilian-Dirlmeier IIb2 of Aegean horned swords (see below p. 219). At the time when it was deposited in tomb L of Elateia, this type of swords was definitely out-dated. For this reason it may be assumed that the weapon had become a highly prestigious antique or heirloom, and that it served the purpose of a status symbol.[9] The pair of tweezers, too, certainly was a prestige object, testifying to the classy toiletry of an elite group within the community.

Therefore it is understandable that we first came to the conclusion that during the Protogeometric period a person of high social status was honoured with a special burial in a Mycenaean tomb: The corpse was laid down in tomb L, surrounded with a stone enclosure and accompanied by prestigious burial gifts. In short, we believed that we were dealing with

8. Dimaki *op. cit.* (n. 7).

9. See also B. Eder, Late Bronze Age swords from Ancient Elis, in R. Laffineur (ed.), *Polemos. Le contexte guerrière en Égée à l'âge du bronze* (Liège 1999) 446.

an Early Iron Age warrior burial.[10] The second skeleton east of the stone enclosure was supposed to represent the penultimate burial.

However, anthropological study of the skeletons produced a big surprise. First, the skeleton found within the stone-enclosure was not found *in situ*. As Susanne Fabrizii-Reuer elaborates in part 3 of this paper, the bones found within the stone enclosure were those of a woman ("individual 1", see below pp. 221-222), not a very likely recipient of a sword! Moreover, most of her bones had been shifted aside and mixed with those of the neighbouring skeleton ("individual 2"). Still other parts were found among the skeleton remains piled up in the north-eastern part of the chamber. The skull was deposited in the north-eastern pit.

The skeleton deposited next to "individual 1" and immediately to the east of the stone enclosure was that of a man ("individual 2", see below p. 222). According to the results of anthropological investigation the remains of "individual 2" were still found *in situ.* However, its bones were mixed with parts of "individual 1". Moreover, some parts of "individual 2", too, were found among the bones deposited in the north-eastern section of the chamber and in the south-eastern pit. The skull was recovered from the north-eastern pit, like that of the woman (see above).

Under these premises it was clear that the two individuals found in the central part of the tomb did not represent the last interments. Instead, we had to come to terms with the fact that it was the Mycenaean sword, the pair of tweezers and the amphora which were buried last in tomb L. Moreover, it is clear that the stone setting was designed to enclose not a corpse but these three objects.

The second surprise was provided by the general chronology of tomb L. The vases found in the pits are LH IIIC Late/Submycenaean (**L/19b**) and Protogeometric (**L/17c**), and the same is true of the fibulae and rings associated with them. The chronologically significant finds connected with the skeletal remains on the floor of the chamber mainly are Submycenaean (amphoriskos **L/9c**, dress-pin **L/11b**) and Protogeometric (amphora **L/9b**). The sword is LH IIIC, while the tweezers may have been of a still earlier date. However, the most recent find was the Middle Geometric skyphos **L/11c** which was found among the secondary burials piled up in the north-eastern part of the tomb. It must have been pushed aside when the last interment, that is to say the three objects within the stone enclosure, was deposited in tomb L. Under these premises, the Middle Geometric skyphos provides a *terminus ad quem* or *post quem* for the final re-arrangement of earlier burials in the tomb, as well as for the deposition of the sword, the tweezers, and the amphora. This chronology is supported by the Early/Middle Geometric oinochoe (see **L/8.1**, below 2.A.1) the fragments of which were found in the fills of the dromos and the chamber.

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10. "Warrior burials" as a demonstration of military prowess and elite status were not only an issue of rulers and leading social ranks of the Mycenaean period. This feature of social behaviour survived into the Early Iron Age of Greece, as testified e.g. by the warrior grave from Tiryns (N. Verdelis, Neue geometrische Gräber in Tiryns, *AM* 78, 1963, 10-24) and by the princely burial in the so-called "heroon" at Lefkandi (R. W. V. Catling - I. S. Lemos, *The Protogeometric Building at Toumba. Part I: The Pottery,* Oxford 1990).

Before we proceed to reconstruct the history of tomb L and to consider how the community at Elateia dealt with their Mycenaean past, let us first describe the chronologically significant finds from the tomb and the results of the anthropological investigation of the two skeletons found in the central part of the chamber.

2. CHRONOLOGICALLY SIGNIFICANT FINDS

2.A Pottery (S. D.-J.)

2.A.1: **L/8.1** (fig. 12). Neck and rim fragment of trefoil-lipped oinochoe. Core 7.5YR 7/6. No slip; black, smeary paint. Monochrome outside, inside plain. At front small window-panel with meander motif. Several monochrome body fragments with narrow reserved zone decorated with two thin horizontal lines. Fragments of a broad low foot.

Parallels: Pronia (*Praktika* 1955, pl. 83β); Argos (e.g. T. 90 C 829: P. Courbin, *La céramique géometrique de l'Argolid,* 1966, 197, pl. 17).

Chronology: The oinochoe shows Attic Early Geometric influence. Middle Geometric oinochoai from Corinth, too, are similar in shape, even if the decorative system of these vases is more advanced (cf. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery,* 1968, pl. 17a, e). Considering the conservative character of the Early Iron Age pottery of Elateia,[11] a date in Middle Geometric rather than Early Geometric II appears appropriate for the piece from Elateia (see also below for the skyphos L/11c).

Find-spots: Dromos fill; stomion; topmost layers of chamber fill.

2.A.2: **L/9b** (fig. 4). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K839. Large neck-handled amphora. Core 5YR 6/6; heavy weight due to inferior quality of the fabric and bad firing. Slip 5YR 7/4. Red paint in varying shades. Rim 14 cm, base 16.4 cm, largest diam. 39.5 cm, height 48 cm.

Globular ovoid-conical shape with sloping shoulder; slightly concave neck; everted rim with sloping lip. Raised flat base. Chunky handles from neck to shoulder, with rib on the back. One handle is set lower on neck and shoulder, lending a somewhat sagging appearance to the vase.

Monochrome paint outside, except for basis and lowest part of the body. Small reserved zone well below the handles, decorated with an untidily drawn wavy line. Neck painted monochrome inside.

Chronology: The decorative scheme follows the tradition of LH IIIC. Thus a date in Submycenaean seems obvious. However, the height of almost 50 cm is too tall for a Submycenaean vessel, at least at Elateia. Moreover, the ovoid shape of the body is closer to that of large Protogeometric amphorae. Thus the vessel should be rather viewed as a representative of a local Early Protogeometric style.[12]

Find-spot: Chamber, inside of stone enclosure, together with sword and tweezers (see fig. 2).

2.A.3: **L/9c** (fig. 7). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K710. Shoulder-handled amphoriskos. Core 7.5YR 7/3; soft fabric of poor quality. Slip 7.5YR 7/4.

11. See S. Deger-Jalkotzy, Elateia and Problems of Pottery Chronology, in *Η περιφέρεια του Μυκηναϊκού κόσμου. Α΄ Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο, Λαμία 1994* (Lamia 1999) 195-202.

12. On the longevity of Mycenaean traditions in the local pottery production of Elateia see *ibid*.

Paint dark brown, smeary. Rim 10 cm, base 6.4 cm, largest diam. 15.7 cm, height 16.3 cm.

Globular shape with sloping shoulder; wide, short neck rising in a soft curve from the shoulder; everted lipless rim; slightly raised concave base; on the shoulder two vertical handles.

Light-ground decoration: Large scroll filling the zone between the handles; broad bands below handle zone and around the base; neck monochrome inside and out; back of handles painted monochrome.

Chronology: Shoulder-handled amphoriskoi first occur at Elateia in LH IIIC Late.[13] The scroll, too, is a motif of LH IIIC pottery. However, at Elateia it is still found on Protogeometric vases.[14] Moreover, the quality of fabric and paint of L/9c is poor, and the soft curve of the profile from neck to shoulder is characteristic of local Submycenaean amphoriskoi.

Find-spot: Accumulation of burial remains at the west wall (see fig. 2).

2.A.4: **L/11c** (fig. 8). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K662. Skyphos. Core 7.5YR 6/6; fabric soft, porous. Paint dark brown to black, smeary, lustreless. Rim 17.7 cm, base 8.7 cm, largest diam. 18.4 cm, height 9.8 cm.

The largest diameter is placed high on the bowl, the lower part is conical; very short shoulder; short everted, lipless rim. Two horizontal rounded handles placed at point of largest diameter. The base is ring.

Decoration: Monochrome paint in and out; in the handle zone trapezoid window-panel with 4 horizontal stripes.

Parallels: Kalapodi (A. Nitsche, *AA* 1987, 46, 48, fig. 63.3); Medeon (C. Vatin, *Médéon de Phocide*, 1969**,** 65 fig. 63); Corinth (S. Weinberg, *Corinth* VII/1, 1943, n. 59).

Chronology: The comparable pieces from Corinth were dated to Middle Geometric I (N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery,* 1968**,** 94, 95). The skyphoi from Kalapodi were found together with Sub-Protogeometric pottery so that a date in the later part of the 9th century was suggested,[15] and the same date appears appropriate for the skyphos from Elateia.[16] Moreover, the new finds from Elateia[17] have corroborated A. Nitsche's view that the type of ring based skyphoi with banded window panels was particularly popular in Central Greece and in the northern Peloponnese.[18]

Find-spot: Accumulation of secondary burials at the east wall of the chamber.

2.A.5: **L/17c** (fig. 10). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K837. Handmade one-handled jug. Core 5 YR 5/6; very coarse fabric with dark and white inclusions of varying size. Surface 5 YR 6/6, with grey and black blots. Rim ca. 13.5 cm, largest diam. 15 cm, height 18 cm.

Globular shape with rounded bottom, no base; high and wide neck, slanting rim; horizontal handle from rim to point of largest diameter.

Neck horizontally burnished inside and out; body and handles vertically burnished.

Parallels and chronology: Handmade burnished vessels were first deposited in the tombs of Elateia during the Submycenaean period and thereafter continued to serve as

13. For a parallel from Aigeira in East Achaia see S. Deger-Jalkotzy, Zum Verlauf der Periode SH IIIC in Achaia, in A. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike. Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums Athen, 19.-21.Mai 1989* (Athen 1991) 19-29, fig. 2.8.

14. Deger-Jalkotzy *op. cit.* (n. 11) fig. 11c.

15. Cf. A. Nitsche, *AA* 1987, 46.

16. Cf. above n. 12.

17. Another skyphos of the same type was found at Elateia in Tomb LXI/90 which entirely dates to the 9th century B.C.

18. Nitsche *op. cit.* (n. 15).

burial gifts. The same seems to apply to the region around Delphi.[19] In the settlement of Kynos, too, handmade burnished vases did not occur in Mycenaean contexts.[20] In contrast, handmade burnished vases were deposited in the sanctuary at Kalapodi from LH IIIC Early onwards.[21]

Under these premises, the earliest possible date for the handmade jug from tomb L is Submycenaean. Yet the well-proportioned shaping of the vessel, the careful burnishing of its surface and the rounded bottom indicate a Protogeometric date. K. Reber claims that jugs with rounded bottom were characteristic of Late Protogeometric to Middle Geometric, occurring more frequently outside of Attica than in Attica.[22] However, the specimens quoted by Reber do not have a slanting rim so that there is no good parallel for the jug from Elateia. Moreover, jugs with slanting rim dated by Reber to Late Protogeometric have a flat base.[23] At the present state of material study there is no need to date handmade jugs with slanting rim and/or rounded bottom to a period later than Early Protogeometric. This view appears to be supported by a handmade, albeit not burnished jar from Kalapodi which apparently had a rounded bottom. It was found in stratum 18 (= beginning of Horizon 9) dated by the excavators to Early Protogeometric.[24]

Find-spot: Pit in the southeast corner of the chamber.

2.A.6: **L/19b** (fig. 11). Cat. Mus. Atalanti K924. Lekythos FS 123. Core 7.5YR 7/6; fabric soft, few inclusions. Surface self-slipped. Paint dark brown. Rim 3.9 cm, base 3.8 cm, largest diam. 9 cm, height 10 cm.

Globular shape with long, sloping shoulder; largest diameter placed on the lower part of the body, giving a baggy appearance to the vase; the base is low ring; high neck, set sharply against the shoulder; rim flaring and slightly hollow. Strap handle from neck to shoulder.

Monochrome paint from neck to lower part of the body and along the back of the handle; broad band at rim in and out; neck and lowest part of the vessel unpainted.

Chronology: At Elateia the lekythos frequently occurs during the later phases of LH IIIC. The decorative scheme of the present piece is still Mycenaean, while the baggy shape and the flaring rim suggest a date in Submycenaean. The piece thus may represent the latest stage of LH IIIC Late or the initial stage of Submycenaean.

Find-spot: North pit.

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19. The Mycenaean tombs at Medeon did not contain any handmade burnished vessels. Handmade vases first occur in a Submycenaean/Early Protogeometric tomb at Delphi, cf. V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages* (London 1972) pls 47, 48. – The so-called Dromos Tomb at Delphi, too, contained one small handmade jug of Submycenaean type with flat base (cf. P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V. *Monuments figurés, petits bronzes, terres-cuites, antiquités diverses* (Paris 1908) 11 fig. 14). Although the majority of the pottery found in this tomb is Mycenaean, the tomb may well have been used until the Submycenaean period (cf. the two lekythoi illustrated by Perdrizet *op. cit.* figs 34 and 36).

20. Information provided by the excavator, Phanouria Dakoronia.

21. M. Jacob-Felsch, Die spätmykenische bis frühprotogeometrische Keramik, in R. Felsch (ed.), *Kalapodi. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis und des Apollon von Hyampolis in der antiken Phokis* I (Mainz 1996) 75.

22. K. Reber, *Untersuchungen zur handgemachten Keramik Griechenlands in der submykenischen, protogeometrischen und der geometrischen Zeit* (Jonsered 1991) 26f.

23. *Ibid.* 26f. and figs 2.5, 3.1.

24. Jacob-Felsch *op. cit.* (n. 21) 77 and pl. 45.424.

2.B Metal finds (Ph. D.)

2.B.1: **L/13b** (fig. 5). Cat. Mus. Atalanti M184. Bronze sword, cast and hammered. Length 0.425 m. Intact, apart from the bone inlay only preserved on one side of the hilt. The blade is double-edged with pointed end; both sides bear three mid-ribs, starting from the point where the bone inlay of the hilt ends. The shoulders terminate in horn-like ends which turn downwards. A flange securing the bone inlay of the hilt runs along the hilt from the horns of the blade to the fungiform (crescent-shaped) end of the hilt. The bone inlay was, moreover, held by three bronze rivets along the centre of the grip.

This type of sword is of Aegean origin. It is present in Crete since LM IIIB-C, while the examples so far known from the Mainland Greece first appear in LH IIIC.

Bibliography: N. Sandars, Later Aegean Swords, *AJA* 67, 1963, 139, pls 26, 46-47: G. Class, C. MacDonald, Aegean Swords and Warrior Graves: Their Implications for Knossian Military Organisation, *BSA* 79, 1984, 62, fig. 5: Type GII; I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Die Schwerter in Griechenland (ausserhalb der Peloponnes), Bulgarien und Albanien. Prähistorische Bronzefunde* IV, Bd. 12 (München 1993) 47-49: Typ 2b2; B. Eder, Late Bronze Age swords from Ancient Elis, in R. Laffineur (ed.), *Polemos. Le contexte guerrière en Égée à l'âge du bronze* (Liège 1999) 445 and pl. LXXXIII b-f.

2.B.2: **L/13d** (fig. 6). Bronze tweezers, hammered; preserved in two pieces. Length 0.105 m. Two curved arms which are narrow on top where a loop is formed, and widening at their ends.

Tweezers are considered as cosmetic implements for removing hair. There is no considerable typological variation during the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, when it became very rare and disappeared towards the end of Geometric period.

In Cyprus tweezers were present until the 14th century B.C. In the Mycenaean Mainland of Greece the artifact appears in graves of the LH III period. Its presence is especially frequent during LH IIIC.

Bibliography: H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford 1964) 227-8: Type a, fig. 22.3; Sp. Iakovidis, *Περατή* II (Athens 1970) 284-285.

2.B.3: **L/11b** (fig. 9). Cat. Mus. Atalanti M72. Long dress pin, preserved intact; bronze, cast. Length 0.405 m. Nail-like head (diam. 0.01 m). Shaft of round section; oval swelling of rhomboid section a little way down the shaft.

Similar pins are characteristic for the Submycenaean period and often appear in graves. However, the pin from Elateia is a rare variant of the type.

Bibliography: I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Nadeln der frühhelladischen bis archaischen Zeit von der Peloponnes. Prähistorische Bronzefunde* XIII, Bd. 8 (München 1984) 66-9, pl. 6: Typengruppe A, No 191.

2.B.4: **L/15b** Four fragments of a bronze fibula. Length 0.058 m, height 0.039 m. The pin is missing. The bow is high and twisted.

The type was first produced during the Submycenaean period of which it is almost a hallmark.

Bibliography: A. Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery*, II. *Chronology* (Stockholm 1941) 91-3: Type II, twisted; E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Die Fibeln der griechischen Inseln. Prähistorische Bronzefunde* XIV, Bd. 4 (München 1978) 49-51, pl. 7: Typ IIf, No 210; H. Müller-Karpe, Die Metallbeigaben der früheisenzeitlichen Kerameikos-Gräber, *JdI* 77, 1962, 85, figs 3, 7, 9; H. W. and E. A. Catling, Objects in Bronze, Iron and Lead, in M. R. Popham, L. H. Sackett, P. G. Themelis (eds), *Lefkandi*, I. *The Iron Age: The Settlement; The Cemeteries* (London 1980) 235, pl. 247: S 22,7.

2.B.5: **L/17f** Four pieces of a small bronze violin-bow fibula. This type was already known to the Mycenaean World since LH IIIB, while in Crete it first appeared in the Subminoan period.

Bibliography: A. Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery*, II. *Chronology* (Stockholm 1941) 91-3: Type I; E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Die Fibeln der griechischen Inseln. Prähistorische Bronzefunde* XIV, Bd. 4 (München 1978) 35, No 1; pl. 1.

2.B.6: **L/16b** Cat. Mus. Atalanti M1085. Finger ring. Diam. 0.018 m. Bronze sheet, hammered. Section thin and flat. Open ring with overlapping tongue-like ends.
Bibliography: N. Verdelis, Gräber in Tiryns, *AM* 78, 1963, 28-30, fig. 3: Typus G.

2.B.7: **L/17b$_1$** Cat. Mus. Atalanti M1181. Finger ring. Same type as 2.B.6. Diam. 0.02 m.

2.B.8: **L/17b$_2$** Cat. Mus. Atalanti M1642. Finger ring, preserved intact; bronze, cast. Diam. 0.020 m. Closed ring with central rib.
The type was already known during the Submycenaean period, and it is also attested during the subsequent Protogeometric and Geometric periods.
Bibliography: A. Onasoglou, Οι γεωμετρικοί τάφοι της Τραγάνας, *Deltion* 36, 1981, A, 45, pl. 17δ.

2.B.9: **L/17g** Cat. Mus. Atalanti M1641. Fragments of a finger ring. Same type as 2.B.8. Diam. 0.019 m.

3. PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH (S. F.-R.)[25]

Introduction

With regards to the archaeological question posed, two skeletons will be presented as part of the results of the research on the 64 skeletons from tomb L/1989. Both of the academic disciplines involved, archaeology and anthropology, are dependent upon each other as a precise documentation of the evidence is essential for the complete understanding of the finds.

In mass grave skeletons were frequently dispersed all throughout the tombs due to various reasons. Most of the time it is possible for a physical anthropologist to reassign the parts of the skeleton of an individual with the help of individual anatomical marks, injuries and so on. However, beyond a biological analysis of the finds, further results are only possible with the help of carefully kept excavation records (e.g. mixed up finds pose insoluble problems).

The layout of tomb L is the same as that of other late Mycenaean tombs in Elateia. The two shallow pits in the corners of the chamber of the tomb are noteworthy. Complete skeletons and parts of such are placed along both the west and the east wall of the chamber of the tomb, piled to a height of ca. 30 cm. Many of them were possibly severely disturbed due to the shifting of burials and to pilfering. Epigenetic features indicate that the individuals buried in the pits were mostly members of the same family.[26] The obviously orderly movement of burials was necessitated due to the small amount of space available in the centre of the chamber, which was not sufficient to accommodate all burials. Pilfering of burials seems

25. This part of the paper has been translated into English by Nicola Nightingale to whom our thanks are due.

26. So far it has not been possible to extend research into this phenomenon for all the human finds from Elateia.

to be indicated when skeletons are largely disturbed instead of being stacked along the chamber walls, showing piety towards the death.

Small fragments of skeletons have remained unassigned to individuals after their identification, either it was impossible to assign them to one of the individuals or to further individuals. These fragments have not been included in the calculation of the number of burials, in order not to increase the number of burials without sound evidence. Nevertheless, it remains a possibility that a further two, or at the most, three adults were buried in tomb L.

The same goes for infants. The clayey, partly sintered floor of the chamber makes it very difficult to identify the bones, in particular of babies, who died prenatally, as their bones are as thin as matchsticks. At this point is has to be stated that despite the difficult working conditions in the dark and small chamber the excavators were even able to find the remnants of a seven month old foetus.

Taking the above mentioned restrictions into account, there were at least 64 persons buried in tomb L in Elateia. Of these 15 were male, 16 were female and 6 were juveniles (three female, one male, three not identifiable). Furthermore, there were 26 children (1 foetus, 23 children of stage infans I,[27] 2 of stage infans II[28]). As we only intend to give a preliminary picture, further details on the age structure etc. are not of relevance for our question. The complete analysis of the human finds will be included in the final publication of the necropolis of Elateia.

THE AIM OF THIS PAPER. The archaeological finds from this tomb, the amphora **L/9b**, the sword **L/13b** and the tweezers **L/13d** are of particular cultural and chronological relevance. Our task was to identify the burials belonging to these finds and to look for possible special features. Problems resulted from the fact that both of the relevant skeletons were only partly *in situ.*

The **individual 1** (in physical-anthropological terminology) was represented by the find numbers **L/12a**, **13a** and **20a**. It was found in the centre of the chamber of the tomb within a small stone enclosure on the floor (cf. above, part 1 of this paper). Parts of the skeleton of individual 1 were found directly bordering onto the east side, outside of the stone enclosure mixed with find number **L/14a** (= individual 2), containing the primary burial of a man, who was buried there. Furthermore, parts of the skull of individual 1 were found in the north-eastern pit (find numbers **L/16a** and **16a'**), as well as parts of the diaphysis of the large bones in find numbers **L/11a** and **15a** from the stacks of bones along the east wall of the chamber.

The determination of the age and sex of all elements of the skeleton and of its dislocated parts from the above mentioned find numbers suggested, without doubt, a middle-aged woman of about 35 years. The condition of the teeth of the mandible revealed only slight wear (of stage 2 according to B. Billy[29]); the teeth's dentine was only revealed in a few areas. Thus the age of death could possibly be estimated somewhat lower, at about 30 years, if the condition of the spine did not suggest otherwise. However, it has to be taken into account

27. From birth to the age of seven.

28. Between seven and fourteen.

29. B. Billy, Dental abrasion and possibilities of its classification, *Scripta medica* 48, 1975, 249-268.

that degenerative wear of the spinal column does not only get worse with age but can also happen much earlier as a result of stress such as frequent pregnancies while still working hard, which has to be assumed for these times, resulting in early wear of the spinal column of women.

Further below reference will be made to a peculiarity of the skeleton, a *bifida occulta partita*, an open neural channel caudal of the first sacral vertebra. The diagnosis is unambiguous, although in this case the deformity will only have resulted in a minor form of restriction.

Individual 2 is covered by the find numbers **L/14a** and **14a'**, comprising the upper and lower extremities, part of the spinal column, the pelvis and some further fragments from the find numbers of the woman described above. The skull of individual 2 was found in find number **16a** of the northeastern pit, parts of the neck in the piles of bones along the east wall (find number **15a**) and the proximal left femur together with the bones of find number **17a** (southeastern pit). Thus most of the skeleton was still found *in situ*, directly to the east of the stone enclosure.

All sections of the skeleton, which can be sexed, unequivocally show that this was a man. He died as an early adult, more precisely it is possible to narrow this down to around the age of 25. Taking into account the few features to determine the sex of the individual 1, this woman will only have been a little older than the man, especially when considering the wear of the teeth. The man's teeth generally showed less abrasion. His second molar at the bottom showed signs of a semi severe caries in the crown, furthermore the upper right first molar was lost, possibly due to caries as well.

A height of about 170 cm can be calculated from the long bones. The indices of the robustness of the bones in relation to the height point to a strong man.

Genetically caused peculiarities are certainly found on the skull and the sacrum. The two second incisors in the upper jaw of the man were not formed due to a retarded development, an inherited variety of hypodentia, i.e. a reduced number of teeth, which occurs with a probability of 1:200 to 1:20, which, when present in an extended family, appears in several consecutive generations.[30]

The inhibiting malformation of the *processi spinosi* of the man's sacral vertebrae is more pronounced than that of the woman. It is not possible to determine, with certainty, the extent of the *spina bifida* because of the missing lumbar vertebrae.

In order to determine which archaeological find belongs to whom it is of importance to clarify the primary burial situation of the woman and man, which is complicated by the displaced parts of the skeletons.

Spina bifida is prominent in tomb L, as well as in the entire cemetery of Elateia. Thus it seems justified to give a short overview on *spina bifida* according to the reference works of P. Eberle and E. Reuer[31] (1984), R. Witkowski and D. Prokop[32] and W. Pschyrembel[33] (1994).

30. Cf. R. Witkonski - D. Prokop, *Genetik erblicher Syndrome und Missbildungen*[2] (Stuttgart 1976) 873.

31. P. Eberle - E. Reuer, *Kompendium und Wörterbuch der Humangenetik* (Stuttgart 1984) 258.

32. As above, n. 30.

33. W. Pschyrembel, *Klinisches Wörterbuch* (257th edition, 1994) 1442f.

Spina bifida is an anatomic anomaly, which is easy to detect on a skeleton. It is a deformity of the neural tube, which is also called inherent "Spaltwirbelbildung" (incomplete closure of the vertebrae), which forms in the second month of the embryo and is divided into different degrees of severity. This defect comes with neurological failures, paralysis as well as disorder with regards to the urogenital tract and the intestines. Survival is only possible with intensive care; in severe cases this has to be sustained throughout the whole lifetime. The frequency of *spina bifida* is around 1-2:1000 in live-births; the lighter forms – *spina bifida occulta*, as in this case – is found by the authors of the reference works at a much higher frequency, and with distinct differences of occurrence in different ethnic groups. Furthermore, there seems to be a difference between males and females, as generally more girls seem to be affected, leading to the assumption of a plasmatic transmission. Exogenous factors play a role as well, as can be seen e.g. in a different frequency of *spina bifida* according to the time of the year of the birth.

The cumulative occurrence in Elateia is of interest in two ways. First, it documents the close relationship of the persons buried in a chamber-tomb; it might even be possible to find relationships throughout the whole cemetery. Second, it shows the high ethical standards of the population, as those suffering from *spina bifida* reached a comparable high age. This was only possible with intensive care.

4. INTERPRETATION: THE HISTORY OF TOMB L

It is difficult to tell when tomb L of Elateia-Alonaki was cut into the rock of the Alonaki slope. Since 64 individuals or more were buried in the tomb, its use must have covered a considerable stretch of time. The material datable to LH IIIB only consists of several smaller finds from the pits such as glass beads and a seal-stone, as well as a small amount of potsherds found in the fills of the dromos and the chamber, and in two pits. In contrast, a high percentage of the pottery fragments from the dromos and chamber fills are of LH IIIC date, and the same is true of the steatite jewellery and several metal objects found in the chamber pits. Moreover, the sword is late Mycenaean. Therefore, tomb L must have been cut in LH IIIC, at the latest.

However, the vases which were found complete exclusively date from the latest stage of LH IIIC Late/Submycenaean to Early Protogeometric, and the same chronology applies to most metal objects. Moreover, the majority of pottery fragments found in the fills of dromos and chamber, too, belong to this stretch of time. Therefore it appears likely that around the beginning of the Submycenaean period all earlier funerary vases were removed.[34] A few fragments of LH IIIB and LH IIIC vases found in the pits of the chamber (see above, p. 214) seem to corroborate this view. Moreover, as S. Fabrizii-Reuer states in part 3 of this paper,

34. In contrast, the skeleton remains were not removed as appears from the high number of 64 individuals which were identified by anthropological research.

burials may have been pilfered when the skeletal remains were moved to their secondary deposits.

The skyphos **L/11c** and the fragments of an oinochoe, both of Middle Geometric date, seem to indicate that the tomb was still in use in the second half of the 9th century. However, between these vases and the Submycenaean to Early Protogeometric burial gifts there is a chronological gap of at least one century: No vases datable to Middle and Late Protogeometric or to the earlier part of the 9th century were found in the tomb.

Under these premises it is more likely that tomb L, like most other tombs of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery, was abandoned in the earlier part of the 10th century B.C. The evidence of the Middle Geometric skyphos and of fragments from vases of the same period suggests that the tomb was re-used around or after the middle of the 9th century. Several other tombs, too, were re-used at that period, as attested by burials or at least vases of this period found both in their dromoi and chambers.[35] In fact, even new tombs were dug during that period, among them the small tomb XLVIII (see above, pp. 211-212).

However, in tomb L the Middle Geometric skyphos **L/11c** was not found together with a burial *in situ*. It had been deposited, together with the accumulation of skeletal remains along the east wall of the chamber (fig. 2). This group also contained skeletal remains of the two individuals buried in the central part of the chamber. Moreover, the skulls of these two people were found in the north-eastern pit under the accumulation at the east wall (fig. 3). Therefore the disarray of the two skeletons must have taken place before the secondary burials (see above, p. 215) and the Middle Geometric skyphos were deposited at the east wall. Furthermore, all these activities must have preceded the arrangement of three time-honoured objects (amphora, sword and tweezers) within the stone enclosure in the centre of the chamber. The fact that the latest pottery fragments both from the chamber and from the dromos date to Middle Geometric, suggests that these arrangements, as well as the final abandonment of tomb L did not take place after 900 B.C.[36]

As for the two skeletons found in the central part of the chamber, they either had been the last interments in the 10th century B.C., or they were deposited during the re-use of the tomb in the Middle Geometric period. They were the only exception to the rule mentioned earlier that the skeletal accumulations found along the west and east walls of the chamber and in the pits were strictly separated from each other. Both individuals had suffered from *spina bifida*, a genetically determined deformation. Therefore these two people in all probability were related (see the comments by Susanne Fabrizii-Reuer in part 3 of this paper). In the case of the man the deformation was so severe that the marrow must have lain more or less open. However, he had lived up to an age of about 25 years which suggests that he had been well attended and cared for. The woman, too, reached an age of 30-35 years. For

35. One example, tomb XLIV/89, was mentioned by Deger-Jalkotzy *op. cit.* (n. 11) 197-199.

36. It is true that the dromos fill and the top layer of the chamber fill also contained some Hellenistic/Roman material (see above, pp. 212-213), but none of these were found underneath the debris from the collapse of the west wall: therefore a different explanation has to be proposed for them (see next note).

these reasons it may be assumed that the two individuals must have been members of an elite family who had the skill, the means and the ethos to care for them so well that they lived to far beyond their childhood. Moreover, it is tempting to imagine that their physical handicap was felt as awe-inspiring ("sacred"?) and that it was for this reason that their skeletal remains were distributed in several parts of the tomb.

Furthermore, the elite status of the family buried in tomb L may have been the reason why in the 9th century B.C. tomb XLVIII was dug next to it. The woman buried in tomb XLVIII even may have claimed descent from the same family. In this view, the final deposit of the Mycenaean sword, the tweezers and the large amphora within a stone setting in tomb L may be interpreted in terms of reverence towards the ancestors of a long past. The fragments of the Middle Geometric oinochoe, too, may be explained in this way. This vase had not been deposited among the burial gifts on the chamber floor: Its fragments were found in the dromos fill, as well as in the chamber fill above the debris which had fallen upon the funerary layers when the wall between the two tombs collapsed (see above, p. 212). Therefore it is likely that the oinochoe had been deposited elsewhere in the tomb, perhaps near the stomion or in the dromos, in order to pay homage to the ancestors buried in the tomb.[37]

5. ELATEIA AND THE MYCENAEAN HERITAGE

The history of tomb L discloses a diversified attitude of the Early Iron Age inhabitants of Elateia towards their Mycenaean heritage. On the one hand, the stylistic and technical novelties of the time were readily accepted. Shapes and types of personal adornment (finger rings, hair rings) and of costume accessories (long dress pins, fibulae) followed the fashions of the time. To a certain extent the same applies to the adoption of Early Iron Age pottery styles, while typical components of Mycenaean funerary assemblages such as stirrup jar, ring-askos and kylix were absent from Early Iron Age burial contexts. Moreover, many tombs seem to have been cleared of earlier burial gifts before they were re-used in post-Mycenaean times.

On the other hand it is obvious that the Early Iron Age material culture of Central Greece retained many Mycenaean elements. This is particularly true of the local pottery styles which exhibit a striking survival of LH IIIC elements during the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods. To the examples mentioned at another occasion[38] we may now add the amphora **L/9b** and the amphoriskos **L/9c**. "Mycenaeanising" vessels of this kind appear in burial con-

37. The fact that fragments of the oinochoe, as well as of other Mycenaean, Early Iron Age and Hellenistic/Roman vessels were found in the fills of the dromos and of the chamber (see above, p. 213) suggests that tomb L was opened once more at a much later period. In Hellenistic and Roman times the Alonaki hill was again turned into a cemetery (see n. 1), and several Mycenaean chamber-tombs were re-used. Tomb L, too, may have been opened. But then it must have appeared unsuitable for further use, due to the big hole in the west wall and the debris which covered the floor. So the material from the dromos was thrown into the chamber, and the stomion was slovenly closed with a packing of stone and earth. After that the rest of the material was filled into the dromos.

38. See Deger-Jalkotzy *op. cit.* (n. 11).

texts side by side with novelties such as handmade pottery and tall Protogeometric amphorae (several of them decorated with compass-drawn concentric circles), as well as with long dress pins and certain types of finger rings and fibulae as mentioned above. Mycenaean survivals of this kind may be termed "non-ideological": They possibly were retained because they still came up to the aesthetical demands of the population of Central Greece.

However, there is also evidence that the adherence to the Mycenaean tradition was intentional. First of all, the principal Mycenaean type of tombs survived. Mycenaean chamber tombs such as tomb L were continuously used until the Protogeometric period and even re-used in the 9th century B.C. Even more remarkably, new small tombs mirroring the idea of the Mycenaean chamber-tomb were still dug during the Early Iron Age. Tomb XLVIII mentioned in this paper is a case in point. Moreover, small terracotta figurines of Mycenaean character were still produced in the 10th century B.C.[39] Furthermore, Mycenaean objects such as LH IIIC steatite colliers and pendants, glass beads and gold jewellery were re-used as burial gifts in the 10th century B.C.[40] Pieces of this kind may well have been adopted by local elites not only as prestige objects indicating high status, but also as tokens of descent from the ancestors of a remote past. The close juxtaposition of tombs XLVIII and L in the 9th century B.C. may have had a similar background.

The Mycenaean sword and tweezers buried in tomb L, too, may have originally served a similar purpose. Furthermore, the exalted rank of the people (most probably related by family ties, see above part 3) buried in this tomb appears from the fact that two family members suffering from *spina bifida* were cared for so well that they survived to well beyond their childhood (see above, part 3 of this paper). However, the last use of the sword and the tweezers was not that of burial gifts. They were deposited in their own right, surrounded by a small stone enclosure and accompanied by a local style Protogeometric amphora. Moreover, this event took place in the 9th century B.C., about one century after the amphora had been made, possibly at about the same time when – or somewhat after – the small tomb XLVIII had been dug.

Summing up, it is perhaps too far-reaching to interpret the evidence of tomb L in terms of a true ancestor cult. But it seems as if Mycenaean objects at Elateia during the Early Iron Age were regarded as symbols of a great past, testifying to family descent from, or some other kind of legitimate connection with the ancestors who had lived in those remote days.

PH. DAKORONIA - S. DEGER-JALKOTZY - S. FABRIZII-REUER

39. S. Alram-Stern, The Mycenaean Figurines of Elateia, in *Η περιφέρεια του Μυκηναϊκού κόσμου. Α΄ Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο, Λαμία 1994* (Lamia 1999) 216-20.

40. S. Deger-Jalkotzy, Anmerkungen zu einem 'Siegel' aus der mykenischen Nekropole von Elateia-Alonaki, in F. Blakolmer (ed.), *Österreichische Forschungen zur ägäischen Bronzezeit 1998, Akten der Tagung am Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Wien, 2.-3. Mai 1998* (Wien 2000) 199-207.

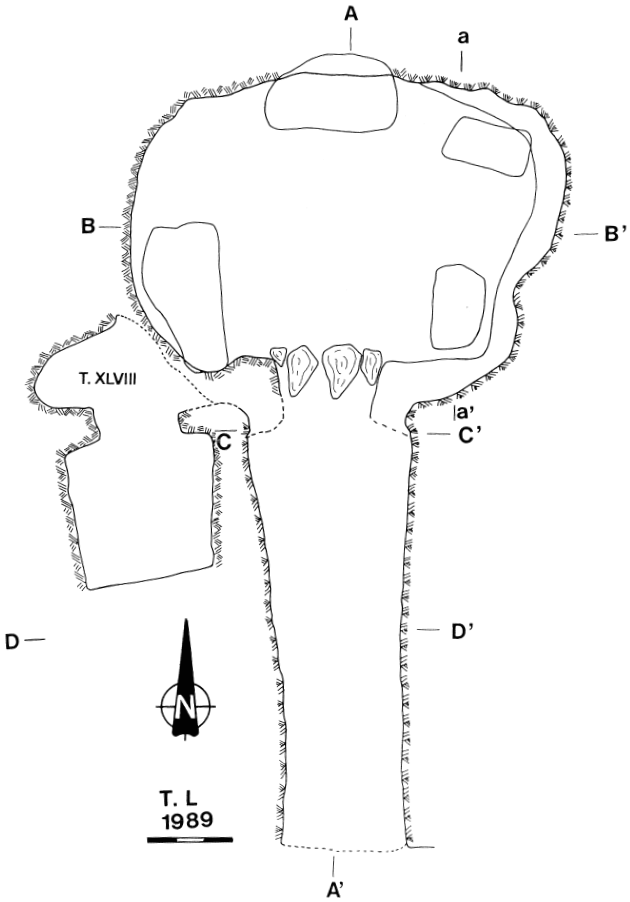

Fig. 1. Tombs XLVIII+L/1989.

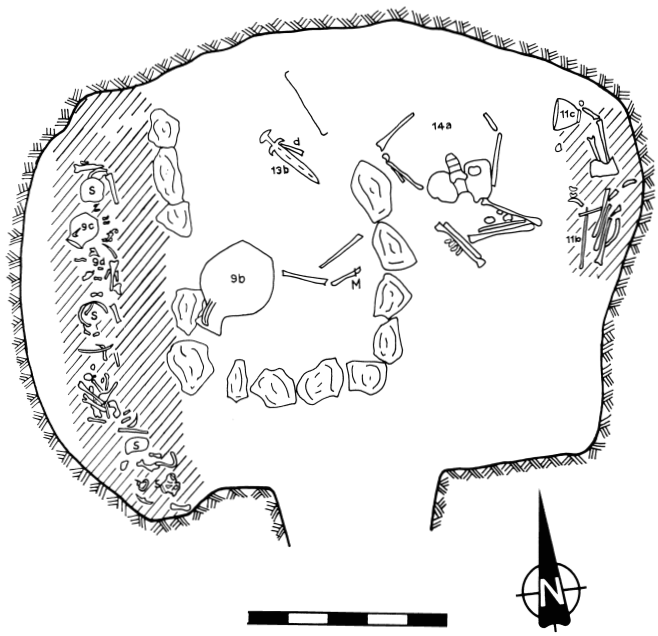

Fig. 2. Tomb L/89: Finds on the floor of the chamber (compact layers of skeletal remains indicated by hachures).

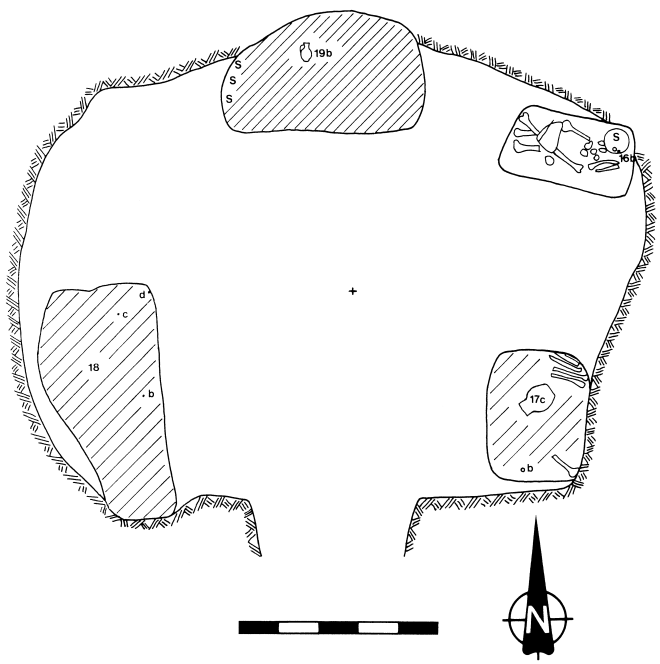

Fig. 3. Tomb L/89: Pits in the floor of the chamber (compact deposits of skeletal remains indicated by hachures).

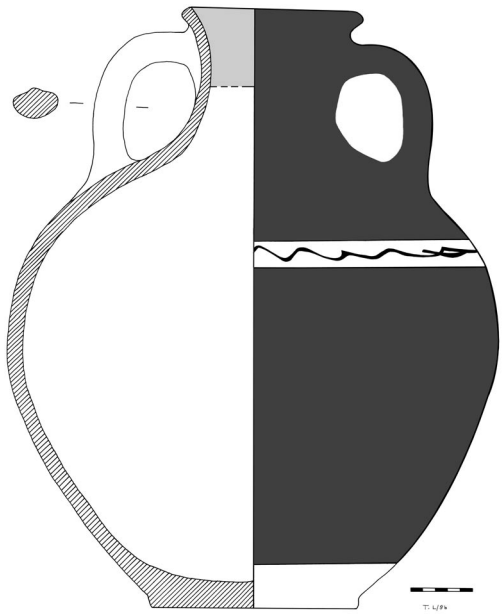

Fig. 4. Large amphora T. L/9b (drawing and inking: B. Eder, E. Held). Scale 1:6.

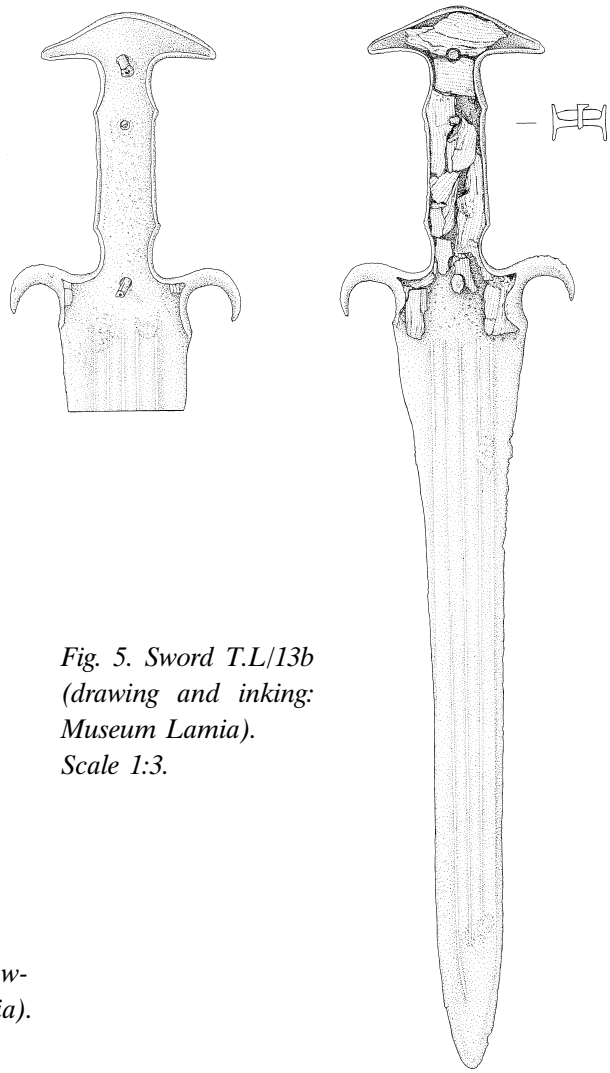

Fig. 5. Sword T.L/13b (drawing and inking: Museum Lamia). Scale 1:3.

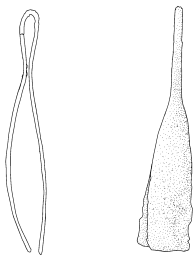

Fig. 6. Tweezers T. L/13d (drawing and inking: Museum Lamia). Scale 1:3.

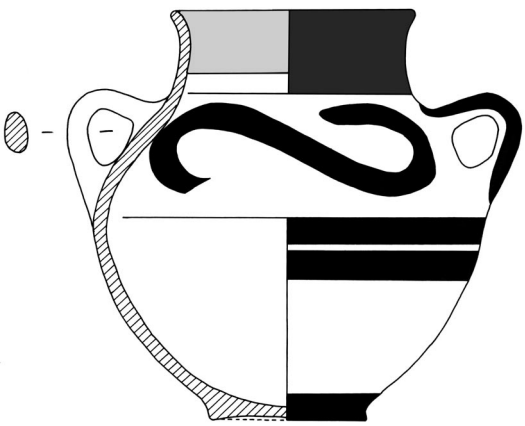

Fig. 7. Amphoriskos T. L/9c (drawing and inking: B. Eder, E. Held). Scale 1:3.

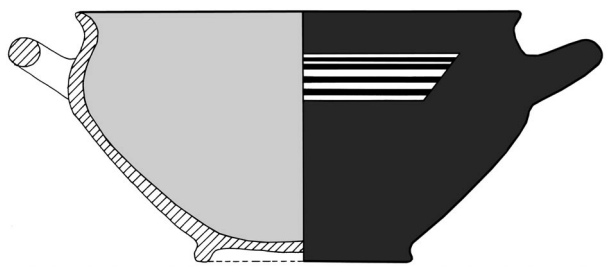

Fig. 8. Skyphos T. L/11c (drawing and inking: B. Eder, E. Held). Scale 1:3.

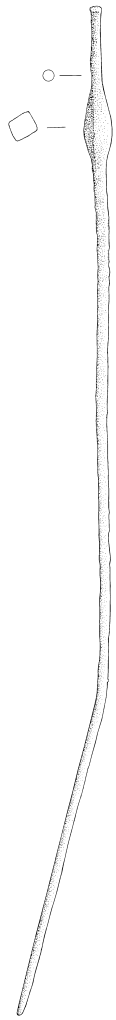

Fig. 9. Long dress pin T. L/11b (drawing and inking: Museum Lamia). Scale 1:3.

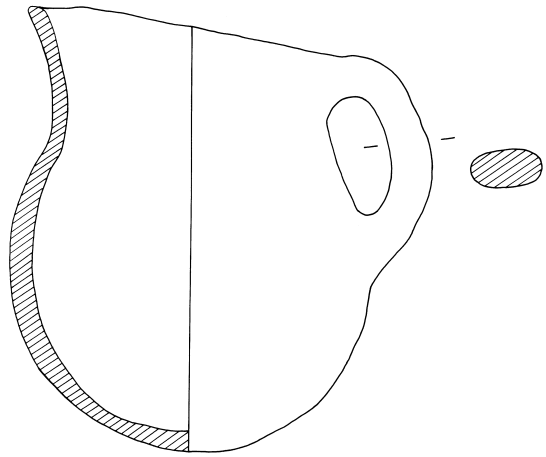

Fig. 10. Handmade jug T. L/17c (drawing and inking: B. Eder, E. Held). Scale 1:3.

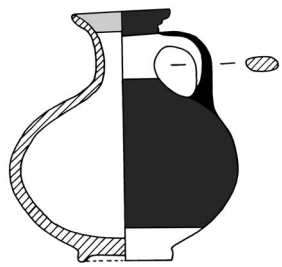

Fig. 11. Lekythos T. L/19b (drawing and inking: B. Eder, E. Held). Scale 1:3.

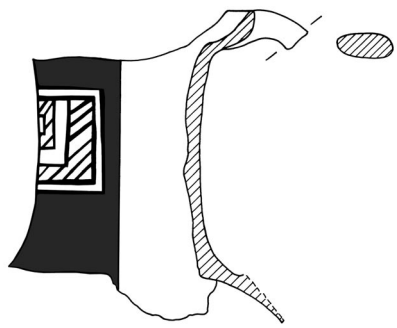

Fig. 12. Fragments of oinochoe T. L/8.1 from chamber fill (drawing and inking: E. Held). Scale 1:3.